

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

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FM AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3231

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY BAMAKO

AMEMBASSY BISSAU

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY FREETOWN

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CONAKRY 1217

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: GV US

SUBJECT: IMPROVEMENT IN AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH GUINEA -
ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

REF: CONAKRY 1188(NOTAL)

SUMMARY. PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE HAS PERSONALLY CONFIRMED
COMMITMENTS MADE BY PM BEAVOGUI IN WASHINGTON. GUINEAN
GOVERNMENT SEEMS DETERMINED TO IMPROVE BILATERAL RE-
LATIONS WITH US. BELIEVE GUINEAN MOTIVATION INCLUDES
(A) A GENUINE RESPECT FOR AND DESIRE TO COOPERATE
WITH CARTER ADMINISTRATION; (B) CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE
ISOLATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE AND RISK THAT THE
ISSUE COULD BRAKE AID AND INVESTMENT; (C) RECOGNITION
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THAT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DEPENDS MORE UPON WEST THAN
EAST, AND PARTICULARLY KEEN INTEREST IN US STEEL COMPANY
DEVELOPMENT OF IRON ORE; (D) SOME IMPROVEMENT IN REGIME'S
CONFIDENCE AND LESSENER FEAR OF MILITARY THREAT, THUS SOME
REDUCTION IN PERCEIVED SECURITY DEPENDENCE UPON USSR; A
BONA FIDE DESIRE TO BE INDEPENDENT AND NON ALIGNED; AND
(E) (AND MORE SPECULATIVE) INCREASED FRICTIONS IN SOVIET/-

GUINEAN RELATIONS AND GUINEAN IMPATIENCE WITH SOVIETS. THERE IS NO PROSPECT OF CHANGE IN SEKOU TOURE'S RADICAL IDEOLOGY. HOWEVER, TU-95 DEPLOYMENTS MAY ACTUALLY BE ARRESTED AND WE CAN HOPE FOR MORE COOPERATIVE POSITION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS; THE PROSPECT FOR CONTINUED MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL PRIVATE INVESTMENT IS GOOD. REAL IMPROVEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS BEHAVIOR WILL DEPEND LARGELY UPON CONFIDENCE OF SEKOU TOURE. US SHOULD RECOGNIZE THESE GUINEAN OVERTURES AND TIE DOWN GOG COMMITMENTS ON STRATEGIC AND HUMAN RIGHTS FRONTS BY RESPONDING AS RAPIDLY AND GENEROUSLY AS WE CAN WITH AID, INCLUDING SPECIFICALLY COASTAL PATROL CRAFT, PL-480 AND AID AG PROJECT. END SUMMARY.

1. OPENING TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

THERE IS NO QUESTION ABOUT THE DETERMINATION OF GUINEANS TO MAKE A DRAMATIC IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH U.S. (REFTEL). MY REQUEST FOR A FAREWELL CALL UPON SEKOU TOURE BROUGHT AN INVITATION TO LUNCH WITH HIM INCLUDING MY FAMILY AND DCM MAINLAND, I BELIEVE THE FIRST SUCH HONOR FOR AN AMERICAN AMBASSADOR SINCE THE EARLY 60'S. ALSO PRESENT WERE PRIME MINISTER, MOUSSA DIAKITE, DAMANTANG CAMARA (PRESIDENT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY), JEANNE MARTIN CISSE, AND N'FALY SANGARE. AFTER RELAXED AND AT TIMES JOVIAL MEAL, SEKOU TOURE MADE GRACEFUL FAREWELL SPEECH IN WHICH HE EMPHASIZED HIS DESIRE FOR STRENGTHENED BILATERAL

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RELATIONS WITH U.S. HE SAID, WITH GREAT MEANING, QUOTE ALL STATEMENTS AND COMMITMENTS BY PM BEAVOGUI DURING HIS WASHINGTON VISIT WERE MADE WITH MY FULL AUTHORIZATION AND THAT OF GOG END QUOTE. HE WAS CLEARLY REFERRING TO THE CESSATION OF TU-95 DEPLOYMENTS AND THE OFFER TO RECEIVE A HUMAN RIGHTS DELEGATION.

2. WHAT IS BEHIND THE NEW GUINEAN POLICY

I SEE FIVE REASONS FOR GOG APPROACH TOWARD US:

- A) A GENUINE RESPECT FOR AND DESIRE TO WORK WITH CARTER ADMINISTRATION, WHICH IS PERCEIVED AS A REVIVAL OF THE KENNEDY ERA, AND OPTIMISM THAT US POLICIES TOWARD AFRICA HAVE REALLY CHANGED FOR THE BETTER;
- B) A FEAR THAT GUINEA COULD BECOME ISOLATED ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE; CONCERN THAT THE VIOLENT GOG CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY, ESSENTIALLY OVER HUMAN RIGHTS, MAY HAVE GONE TOO FAR; A DESIRE TO NEUTRALIZE THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE BEFORE IT AFFECTS INVESTMENT, AID, OR MULTILATERAL LENDING;
- C) A GROWING RECOGNITION THAT GUINEA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DEPENDS UPON THE WEST NOT THE EAST: A KEEN DESIRE

FOR PARTICIPATION BY UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION IN
IRON ORE DEVELOPMENT; AND FOR OTHER WESTERN PRIVATE IN-
VESTMENT; A CONVICTION THAT WESTERN MULTILATERAL SUPPORT
(ESP IBRD AND IMF, BUT ALSO EC) IS LARGELY INFLUENCED
BY USG;

D) SOME IMPROVEMENT IN THE REGIME'S CONFIDENCE AS
REVENUES FROM BAUXITE EXPORTS BUILD UP; RELATIONS WITH
FRANCE CONTINUE TO IMPROVE, THE SUPPOSED MILITARY THREAT
FROM "IMPERIALISTS", NEIGHBORS OR EVEN DISSIDENTS SEEMS
INCREASINGLY REMOTE; A GENUINE GUINEAN NATIONALISM AND
DEISRE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND NON-ALIGNMENT;
E) FINALLY, AND MOST DIFFICULT TO ACCESS OR SUBSTAN-
TIATE, DIMINUTION OF RAPPORT WITH SOVIETS; CONTINUAL
BICKERING WITH USSR, E.G. OVER OBK BAUXITE COMPANY FINANCES,
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FISHING RIGHTS, COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT PURCHASE AND MAIN-
TENANCE; DRYING UP OF SOVBLOC ECONOMIC AID DURING RECENT
YEARS, POSSIBLY SOME CONCERN OVER SOVIET POLICIES IN
ANGOLA AND THE HORN, POSSIBLY A DESIRE TO "WARN" THE
SOVIETS.

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3. WHAT DOES IT REALLY MEAN?

THERE IS NO PROSPECT FOR CHANGE IN SEKOU TOURE'S RIGID IDEOLOGY, HIS INTERNATIONAL RADICALISM, HIS INGROWN SUSPICION OF "IMPERIALISM AND ITS STOOGES". HOWEVER, THERE IS REASON TO HOPE THAT: A) SOVIET DEPLOYMENTS FROM GUINEA AGAINST US SECURITY INTERESTS MAY ACTUALLY BE ARRESTED THIS TIME, AS PROMISED;
B) THERE MAY BE LESS HOSTILITY TOWARDS US INTERESTS IN MULTILATERAL FORUMS, AND (POSSIBLY) LESS CAUSTIC RHETORIC.
C) THE PROSPECT FOR MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL JOINT VENTURES WITH WESTERN PRIVATE INVESTMENT IS GOOD.
REAL IMPROVEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS BEHAVIOR WILL BE SLOW AND DIFFICULT AT BEST, AND IF OBTAINABLE WILL BE A FUNCTION OF INCREASED CONFIDENCE ON SEKOU TOURE'S PART.
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AT LEAST WE HAVE A RECOGNITION OF THE PROBLEM, A DIALOGUE WE CAN MAINTAIN, AND AN OFFER TO RECEIVE A DELEGATION TO REVIEW THE SITUATION IN GUINEA.

4. HOW SHOULD THE UNITED STATES REACT?

WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT WE RECOGNIZE AND APPRECIATE GUINEAN OVERTURES.
WE SHOULD PROVIDE THE REQUESTED COASTAL PATROL CRAFT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE UNDER WHATEVER GRANT OR CONCESSIONAL COMMERCIAL TERMS WE CAN DEVISE;
WE SHOULD BE RESPONSIVE ON PL 480 TITLE I COMMODITY REQUESTS WITHIN THE LIMITS OF OUR AVAILABILITIES;
WE SHOULD MOVE AHEAD BRISKLY WITH THE USAID AGRICULTURAL PROJECT AND WITH SUCH OTHER SMALL COOPERATIVE PROJECTS (E.G. DEAF MUTE SCHOOL, SELF HELP, CULTURAL EXCHANGES) AS WE CAN;
WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE US STEEL AND OTHER PRIVATE INVESTMENT;
WE SHOULD SPECIFY HOW GUINEA CAN BE MORE COOPERATIVE IN MULTILATERAL FORUMS;
WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO SHOW OUR CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, MAINTAINING A CONSISTENT PRESSURE AND RECOGNIZING ANY EFFORTS AND IMPROVEMENT GUINEANS MAY MAKE.
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